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SUCCESS OF PARTITION HINGES ON ARAB-JEWISH COOPERATION

THE partition of Palestine was agreed upon by the UN General Assembly on November 29 after a hectic week of parliamentary maneuvers, adjournments, lobbying for votes, and last minute vote-switching. With ten states abstaining and Siam absent because of internal political conflicts, partition was approved by the unexpectedly large majority of 33 to 13, seven more than the requisite two-thirds majority. The Assembly's decision is the first step in creating three new political units in the small Holy Land: an independent Jewish state of 5,500 square miles inhabited by 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs; an independent Arab state of 4,500 miles containing 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews; and a UN trusteeship territory in the 289 square mile enclave of Jerusalem in which 105,000 Arabs and 100,000 Jews dwell. During a transition period which is to end by October 1, 1948, the partition plan will be administered, "under the guidance of the Security Council," by a five-member UN commission comprised of Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippines. The three parts of Palestine are to form an economic union, and the Jewish and Arab states are each to have an armed militia "sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes." Provision is made for democratic institutions and protection of minorities. British troops are to be withdrawn and the British mandate terminated by August 1.

THE BALLOTING. Balloting on the partition proposal was marked by an air of tense excitement in the record crowd which packed the Assembly hall. Of the Big Five, the United States and the Soviet Union supported partition throughout, Britain and China consistently abstained, and France, fearful of disturbances in its Arab dependencies, at the end reluctantly voted yes. Thirteen Latin American states

approved the plan, six abstained, and Cuba alone voted no. Yugoslavia abstained, reportedly because of its Moslem minority but the rest of the Slav bloc joined the advocates of partition. The Western-European states and the older British Dominions, some of which were at first inclined to abstain, cast an affirmative vote, as did Liberia which at one time was rumored to be in the opposing camp. In addition to Cuba, the thirteen opponents of partition included the six Arab members and six other states with Moslem interests—Afghanistan, India, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and Greece.

During the last few days of debate, the United States was attacked by both pro- and anti-partitionists, the former condemning Washington for failing

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to use pressure to line up votes for partition, and the latter charging that the Administration was preventing a free vote by attempting to influence other states. Some observers speculated that the late-hour switch to partition by Haiti and the Philippines resulted from American pressure, but no evidence is available on this point.

ARAB OPPOSITION. When the final vote was taken the six Arab delegations walked out of the Assembly hall, serving notice that they would not cooperate in the partition plan. Later that night they issued a joint statement denying the legal right of the UN to partition Palestine, and calling attention to the fact that the states not supporting partition included "all the nations of the East who are directly concerned in this matter and whose number amounts to over one thousand million people." In Damascus, Syria, Arab rioters attacked the American Legation, while in Palestine Jews were killed and a three-day Arab general strike was called. Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab League of seven states, warned in Cairo that the UN decision would be resisted by force, although he declared he could not say when and where troops would be used. According to one report, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia has agreed to contribute his oil revenues from the United States, reputedly \$18,000,000 a year, to support Arab military forces in the fight against partition. As yet, however, the Arab states have not carried out past threats to withdraw from the UN, launch a joint declaration of war, cancel American oil concessions, or inaugurate large-scale guerrilla warfare.

CAN A JEWISH STATE SURVIVE? There is no doubt that Palestine is in for trouble. Zionist propagandists, in their efforts to win partition, have minimized Arab opposition, but the Jewish Agency is well aware of the danger. David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Agency's Executive, warned delegates to the Elected Assembly of Palestine Jewry on October 2 that their goal must be "security first of all and above all, since the fate of the Jewish State depends, more perhaps than on anything else, on our ability to ensure security." "Every single Jew in Palestine," he declared, must play his part in "a suitable security regime." From Jerusalem on November 30 came the report that Haganah, the Jewish defense organization, had called for mobilization of all men and women from 17 to 35 for special "security" ranks, and had called on all men from 25 to 45 to enlist for "home guard duty." Well-informed Zionists recognize, however, that defensive measures are not enough. They believe that a Jewish state cannot survive in Palestine unless the Jews ultimately win the friendship and cooperation of their Arab neighbors. They contend that the economic needs

of the Arabs will eventually induce them to cooperate with the Jews, and that if the Jewish state can defend itself until that time its future will be assured. It is too early to pass sound judgment on whether this Zionist emphasis on economic factors is justified, or whether an intensified Arab nationalism will frustrate Jewish hopes. Zionists fear that Syria and Iraq will remain intransigent, but they hope to reach agreements with Transjordan and Egypt. King Abdullah, Zionists assert, would like to add Arab Palestine to Transjordan.

BRITAIN'S WITHDRAWAL. Partition received the necessary two-thirds vote because the United States and Russia supported it, and because a number of other states believed it would be "better than nothing." Votes of many states were influenced by the impression that "the Arabs are bluffing." These states may waver in their determination to carry out the UN decision if this view proves to be unfounded. In such an explosive situation the method by which British troops withdraw from Palestine will be of considerable importance. A Colonial Office spokesman in London was quoted on November 30 as saying that Britain probably would terminate the mandate before the August 1 deadline. The UN plan calls for clearing a seaport area by February 1 "to provide facilities for a substantial immigration," but Zionists stress their need for a completely free port through which they can bring in guns and supplies for defense. Britain could also aid partition enforcement by keeping its troops longest at those points where friction is most likely.

The inadequacy of enforcement provisions in the UN partition plan was the subject of considerable criticism in the Assembly. Since no agreement could be reached to provide UN armed forces, the five-nation commission which is to leave for Palestine within the next few weeks is confronted by the unsatisfactory prospect of having to rely on such support as it can get from (1) British armed forces in the process of withdrawing, (2) Jewish and Arab armed militia forces hostile to one another, and (3) its own moral prestige. In passing the partition plan, however, the UN Assembly branded any attempt to alter it by force as a threat to the peace, and called on the Security Council, in such a case, to take action under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter which call for nonmilitary sanctions by all members of the UN.

Many of the President's advisers in the State Department, numerous American business interests, and most of the small group of Americans who have devoted their lives to Arabic studies believe that American policy on Palestine has damaged American interests in the Middle East. There is no doubt that this country has lost much good will in the Arab world,

but the permanent consequences of our action will be determined by the course of events in the next generation. The partition of Palestine was decided upon only after long and exhaustive deliberation during two official inquiries within two years. It was approved by the General Assembly of the UN. Conditions in Palestine had reached such an explosive point, especially following announcement of Brit-

ain's decision to withdraw, that some definite step was essential. In this crisis the division of the Holy Land into two independent states appeared to many Assembly delegates as the least harmful of possible alternatives. Certainly the decision of the UN will clarify the controversy as to whether partition will work.

VERNON MCKAY

F.P.A. BOOKSHELF

Documents on American Foreign Relations, July 1944-June 1945, edited by Leland M. Goodrich and Marie J. Carroll. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947. \$6.00

The seventh volume in an important series includes documentary material on American foreign relations during the last year of World War II.

The International Problem of Governing Mankind, by Philip C. Jessup. Claremont, California, Claremont College, 1947. \$2.50

This slim volume of addresses, delivered in an annual series of lectures conducted at the Associated Colleges in Claremont by Professor Jessup of Columbia University, is a brilliantly written and stimulating analysis of the principal problems of international organization. It is "must" reading for all students of international affairs.

The United States and Russia, by Vera Micheles Dean, with an introduction by Sumner Welles. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1947. \$3.00

This volume, the third in the American Foreign Policy Library series edited by Sumner Welles, describes post-war developments in Russia, analyzes the issues at stake between the United States and Russia in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, appraises the respective roles of the two countries in the UN, and in the perspective of Russo-American relations before 1945 points out some of the possible bases of a *modus vivendi*. The book contains an annotated bibliography.

The Development of the Soviet Economic System: An Essay on the Experience of Planning in the U.S.S.R., by Alexander Baykov. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$6.00

The author of this volume, a Russian who is now lecturer in charge of the Department of Economics and Institutions of the U.S.S.R. at Birmingham University in England, gives a valuable analysis of the main features of economic policy and economic development in the Soviet Union. His book, although written in a difficult style, fills a long-standing need for a comprehensive study in English on this subject.

Forced Labor in Soviet Russia, by David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947. \$3.75

Mr. Dallin, a member of the Russian Socialist party who served as opposition deputy in the Moscow Soviet from 1918 to 1921, when he left Russia for Germany, has assembled information gathered from eye-witness accounts regarding conditions in forced labor camps in Russia, where he estimates that between 7 and 12 millions are at work as punishment for various acts—for the most part, he believes, acts of political opposition. These labor camps, in his opinion, have become an integral feature of the Soviet state.

Covenant Everlasting; Palestine in Jewish History, by Berl Locker. New York, Sharon Books, 1947. \$1.50

This is considered "required reading" for all who write or speak on Palestine.

China: A Model for Europe, by Lewis A. Maverick. San Antonio, Texas, Paul Anderson, 1946.

A valuable contribution to the understanding of Chinese influence on European economic and political theory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bound together in two volumes, volume I explores the subject as a whole, and volume II is a translation of *Le Despotisme de la Chine* by the eighteenth century physiocrat, Francois Quesnay.

China's Destiny and Chinese Economic Theory, by Chiang Kai-shek. New York, Roy, 1947. \$3.50

China's Destiny, by Chiang Kai-shek. Translated by Wang Chung-hui. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$2.75

Two editions of important material, throwing light on the thought of Chiang Kai-shek. The Roy edition contains *Chinese Economic Theory* as well as a translation of the original edition of *China's Destiny*, and has extensive notes and commentary by Philip Jaffe. The officially authorized translation of *China's Destiny* by Wang Chung-hui is based on the revised edition, and has a brief preface by Lin Yutang.

China, edited by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Berkeley, University of California, 1946. \$6.50

More than thirty authorities discuss the history of China from ancient times down to the present day. The subjects covered include various periods of the Empire and Republic, religion, philosophy, art, literature, education, economic problems, and international relations. The chapters vary in quality, but the book as a whole is quite useful.

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, by Ruth Benedict. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946. \$3.00

An anthropologist's analysis of the pattern of Japanese thought and behavior.

Population and Peace in the Pacific, by Warren S. Thompson. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1946. \$3.75

A discussion of population problems in eastern Asia and India, with special reference to agrarian conditions, mineral resources, industrial development and other conditioning factors. Foreseeing a large-scale increase in Asia's population during the decades ahead, the author argues for progressive policies that will keep the unsettling effects of this growth to a minimum.

Secret Missions: The Story of an Intelligence Officer, by Ellis M. Zacharias. New York, Putnam's, 1946. \$3.75

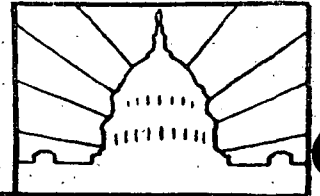
The personal history of an American naval intelligence officer, who worked in Japan before World War II and subsequently played an important part in American psychological warfare against Japan.

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Washington News Letter



FOREIGN AID DEBATE COMPLICATED BY INJECTION OF CHINA ISSUE

The emphasis on the need to contain communism placed by President Truman in his enunciation of the "Truman Doctrine" on March 12 is causing embarrassment to the Administration now that it is seeking to give its policy a more positive character. A number of leading Republicans, including Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a majority of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, are using Truman's March argument to demand that the Administration broaden the "Marshall Plan" to include China as well as Europe. The raising of the Chinese issue at this time disturbs the Administration for three main reasons. First, it is believed that, relative to need, Congress will probably appropriate few enough dollars for Europe under the best of circumstances, and that anything assigned by law to China will be taken from what might have gone to Europe. Second, the expenditure of a large sum in China, it is argued, would be wasted unless the Chinese government becomes far more efficient than it is now. Third, it is feared that non-isolationist Republicans are preparing to make a party issue of China, and the Administration's alleged neglect of it, during the coming Presidential election campaign.

DEBATE MAY TURN ON SECONDARY ISSUES. The concern for China suggests strongly that the coming regular session of Congress may fight out the European Recovery Program on oblique issues. The House and Senate have made swift progress during the current special session toward enactment of the \$597,000,000 stopgap aid to Europe, requested by Truman on November 17. This action indicates the American public is more prepared than before the war to admit that political and economic dislocation abroad injures the United States, and that foreign aid is therefore in our self-interest. But acceptance of this principle has not been followed by agreement on how it should be applied. Thus the problem of Europe may be subordinated to that of China policy. "The program of Communist world conquest is furthest advanced in China," Governor Dewey said on November 24, at a dinner of the alumni of the Columbia University Law School, when he announced his hope that "in the face of great peril to China, our own government would reverse its policy and take positive steps while there is still time."

The China question has been smouldering in the United States since General Marshall's return to

Washington last January. Americans who believe that we can help China by helping Chiang Kai-shek contend that China deserves a role in any relief or recovery program. A strong proponent of this opinion in Congress is Representative Walter Judd, Republican, of Minnesota, a former medical missionary in China. He is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee which on November 25 voted to reduce President Truman's European aid request to \$489,000,000 but to make available \$60,000,000 to China, although Secretary Marshall on November 12 had assured the committee the Administration contemplated organizing a \$300,000,000 project for China in April. Reports of Communist military success during the past two months have focused attention here on the Chinese issue.

MORE INFORMATION NEEDED. Administration leaders privately contend that both the European Recovery Program and the stopgap request are founded not so much on the simple "stop-communism" of the Truman Doctrine as on the fact that it is vital for us to keep world trade channels clear. They explain that our whole economy is based on a system of world trade, and that we will not be able to insulate ourselves from the impact of a starving world. Instead of advocating the programs on these grounds, however, the Administration itself, looking for a way to arouse public opinion, continues to rely on the appeal to block communism. This incomplete explanation of the bases of American policy not only encourages the advocates of help for Chiang Kai-shek, but bolsters critics of the Administration program, like Senator Robert A. Taft, who fear the domestic consequences of internal economic controls or others, like Senator H. Styles Bridges, who hesitate to commit the country to continued large-scale exports.

Despite the readiness of many Congressmen to oppose the aid programs obliquely, several facts must be noted. Republican Senators Baldwin, of Connecticut, and Aiken and Flanders, of Vermont, have attacked the party leadership for its criticism of Truman's proposal for internal controls. On December 1 the Senate voted, 83 to 6, to authorize the full \$597,000,000 recommended by the Administration for emergency winter relief to France, Italy and Austria. General support for the principle of assistance is clear, but the long-term recovery program may yet be subjected to disputes over secondary issues.

BLAIR BOLLES